

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

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R 211042Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8862

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 OSLO 4707

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ENDERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ENRG NO

SUBJ: NORWAY LOOKS TO ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP IN IEP

SUMMARY: FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND HAS INFORMED THE STORTING FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT MADE A FINAL DECISION ON JOINING THE IEP, BUT IN FACT IT IS NO LONGER CONSIDERING FULL MEMBERSHIP. INSTEAD, FRYDENLUND HOPES TO MEET WITH BELGIAN FOREIGN OFFICE DIRECTOR GENERAL DAVIGNON AROUND OCTOBER 28 TO WORK OUT SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATE STATUS WHICH WILL DEMONSTRATE A MAXIMUM DEGREE OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE WEST, BUT AVOID A DIVISIVE NATIONAL DEBATE. THE FINAL DECISION WILL PROBABLY BE ANNOUNCED IN FRYDENLUND'S MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS TO THE STORTING ON NOVEMBER 1. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON WHAT THE U.S. ATTITUDE SHOULD BE TOWARD FRYDENLUND'S EFFORTS TO WORK OUT ASSOCIATE STATUS, AND ON ANY STEPS WHICH WE MIGHT TAKE IN THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE TO US TO INFLUENCE THE FORM OF SUCH ASSOCIATION. END SUMMARY.

1. FOREIGN MINISTER FRYDENLUND BRIEFED ME AGAIN OCTOBER 19 ON THE STATUS OF NORWAY'S CONSIDERATION OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE IEP. HE HAD BRIEFED THE STORTING FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OCTOBER 18, DESPITE RESERVATIONS BY PRIME MINISTER BRATTELI WHO WAS CONCERNED THAT INFORMATION ABOUT NORWAY'S POSITION WOULD LEAK OUT BEFORE OCTOBER 29, THUS

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VIOLATING THE COMMITMENT MADE BY FRYDENLUND TO THE SECRETARY.

THE PRESS HAS BEEN REPORTING THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT BECOME A FULL IEP MEMBER, BUT RATHER SEEK SOME ALTERNATIVE STATUS. HOWEVER, FRYDENLUND SAID HE HAD SIMPLY INFORMED THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS STILL SEEKING MORE INFORMATION ON THE PROGRAM BEFORE REACHING A FINAL DECISION. HE ALSO URGED THE COMMITTEE, HOWEVER, TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS. TO HIS SURPRISE, THERE WAS NO CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT AND APPARENT UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS DECISION IS A HIGHLY COMPLEX ONE.

2. FRYDENLUND INDICATED TO ME THAT BRATTELI FEELS BADLY THAT HE IS BEING OVERRULED WITHIN THE LABOR PARTY IN HIS WISH TO DEMONSTRATE FULL SOLIDARITY WITH THE WEST. FRYDENLUND'S OWN EFFORTS ARE FOCUSSED AT THE PRESENT TIME ON FINDING SOME FORMULA WHICH WILL DEMONSTRATE MAXIMUM SOLIDARITY SHORT OF FULL MEMBERSHIP. IN ADDITION TO ASSURING US THAT NORWAY WILL NOT ANNOUNCE ANY NEGATIVE DECISION PRIOR TO OCTOBER 29, IN DEFERENCE TO THE SPECIFIC REQUEST FROM THE SECRETARY, FRYDENLUND TELLS ME THAT HIS GOAL IS TO FIND A FORMULA WHICH WILL DEMONSTRATE MAXIMUM SOLIDARITY SHORT OF FULL IEP MEMBERSHIP. HE HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN ENCOURAGED BY HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH THE SECRETARY AND WITH DAVIGNON AT THE UNGA IN THE BELIEF THAT HE CAN MINIMIZE THE DAMAGE TO NORWAY'S IMAGE BY SUCH AN APPROACH. WHEN I PRESSED HIM AT OUR MEETING ON OCTOBER 5 REGARDING MEMBERSHIP IN IEP, HE FINALLY COMMENTED DEFENSIVELY THAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY SECRETARY THAT FAILURE TO PARTICIPATE WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT STRAIN U.S.-NORWEGIAN RELATIONS. AND IN SUBSEQUENT MEETING WITH DAVIGNON, WHO SAID THAT SECRETARY HAD BRIEFED HIM FULLY ON FRYDENLUND MEETING, DAVIGNON TOLD FRYDENLUND THAT SECRETARY HAD ASKED HIM TO SEEK "OTHER SOLUTION" FOR IEP PARTICIPATION IF NORWAY FEELS ITSELF POLITICALLY UNABLE TO BECOME A FULL CHARTER MEMBER. ACCORDING TO FRYDENLUND, IT WAS AS A RESULT OF SECRETARY'S SUGGESTION THAT DAVIGNON PROPOSED SEVERAL FORMS OF ASSOCIATE IEP PARTICIPATION FOR NORWAY'S CONSIDERATION, MAKING CLEAR THAT NORWAY WOULD THEN NOT HAVE VOTING PRIVILEGES. FRYDENLUND PLANS TO CONTINUE THIS DISCUSSION WITH DAVIGNON IN BRUSSELS EN ROUTE BACK FROM PORTUGAL

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(SEPTEL), OCTOBER 28 OR 29. HE HOPES DAVIGNON WILL ACCEPT NORWAY'S UNIQUE POSITION AS A NET ENERGY EXPORTER IN 1975 AS SPECIAL JUSTIFICATION FOR ASSOCIATE MAMBERSHIP.

3. THERE IS SOME DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN FRYDENLUND AND AMBASSADOR BOYESEN IN BRUSSELS ON THE FORM OF WHAT FRYDENLUND NOW TERMS "ADHERENCE" SHOULD

TAKE. BOYESEN FEARS THAT THE SORT OF RELATIONSHIP EN-
VISAGED BY FRYDENLUND WILL CONSTITUTE A "TREATY WITH-
IN A TREATY" AND REQUIRE STORTING APPROVAL. HE WOULD
PREFER TO SEE A STATEMENT ISSUED WHICH LISTED THE
RESERVATIONS TO THE IEP AGREEMENT, RATHER THAN ONE
WHICH WOULD FOCUS ON THE POSITIVE, INCLUDING NORWAY'S
INTENTION TO ASSIST WITH OIL EXPORTS IF NECESSARY.
FRYDENLUND FEELS HE CAN GET AWAY WITH MORE BECAUSE OF
A CERTAIN "GUILT FEELING" IN THE STORTING THAT NORWAY
IS SHOWING LACK OF SOLIDARITY.

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8863

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4. WHILE IT IS UNCLEAR WHAT FORM OF ASSOCIATION WILL
EVENTUALLY EMERGE, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT FULL MEMBER-
SHIP IS OUT OF THE QUESTION. FRYDENLUND ARGUES THAT,
EVEN IF ANY EFFORT TO PUSH THROUGH FULL MEMBERSHIP
SHOULD SUCCEED, IT WOULD SPLIT THE LABOR PARTY AND
PROVOKE A BITTER NATIONWIDE DEBATE THAT MIGHT EVEN
REACH OUT AND EMBRACE NATO. FROM OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH
OTHER MINISTERS, OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS, AND LO
TRADE UNION LEADERS, IT HAS BECOME APPARENT THAT
ONLY THE RELATIVELY SMALL CONSERVATIVE PARTY WOULD
PROBABLY GIVE UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT TO FULL NORWEGIAN
PARTICIPATION. THE LO IS FIRMLY OPPOSED. THE
CHRISTIAN PEOPLES PARTY MIGHT GIVE PARTICIPATION SOME
SUPPORT, BUT THE LABOR PARTY WOULD PROBABLY BE SPLIT
AND ALL OTHER PARTIES WOULD BE OPPOSED. THE CABINET
ITSELF IS SPLIT ON THE ISSUE, IS NOT CAMPAIGNING FOR
PARTICIPATION AND THERE APPEARS TO BE LITTLE HOPE OF
IMPROVING THE SITUATION. AS MINISTER OF INSUSTRY

ULVESETH PUT IT TO ME, PARLIAMENT'S CONSIDERATION OF THE IEP WOULD LEAD TO A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE WHICH WOULD LIKELY RESULT IN THE FALL OF THE GOVERNMENT. ULVESETH, WHO OPPOSES NORWEGIAN MEMBERSHIP, CONCLUDES THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER NOT TO RAISE THE ISSUE AND TO ACCEPT DAVIGNON'S OFFER OF SOME SORT OF ASSOCIATE STATUS FOR WHICH PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL WOULD NOT BE NEEDED. HE AND MANY OTHER OPPONENTS OF FULL PARTICIPATION CON- TEND THAT ASSOCIATE PARTICIPATION WOULD AMOUNT TO VIRTUALLY THE SAME THING BUT ALLOW NORWAY TO DUCK THE SECRET

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POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES OF SOVEREIGNTY AND AUTOMATICITY.

5. WE HAVE PUSHED HARD TO WIN FULL NORWEGIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE IEP AND THE CLEAR DRIFT AWAY FROM FULL MEMBERSHIP IS A GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT TO US. WITHOUT SOME UNEXPECTED TURN OF EVENTS, HOWEVER, I FEAR THAT ANOTHER APPROACH TO NORWAY WOULD BE FRUIT- LESS. SHORT OF FULL PARTICIPATION, WE NEED TO CON- sider, THEREFORE, WHETHER SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATION OR COMPLETE DISASSOCIATION IS THE BETTER ALTERNATIVE COURSE.

6. IF I THOUGHT THAT FIRM EXCLUSION OF NORWAY WOULD SERVE AS USEFUL SHOCK TREATMENT, AND HELP TO DRIVE HOME THE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS FOR NORWAY'S SECURITY OF ITS EFFORTS TO HAVE THE BEST OF TWO WORLDS-- I WOULD PRO- POSE WE INSIST ON FULL AND UNQUALIFIED MEMBERSHIP OR NOTHING. (FRYDENLUND IS AWARE THAT THIS WAS OUR POSITION WITH SWEDEN WHICH HE SAYS, REMAINS VERY INTERESTED IN JOINING THE IEP). I FEAR, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD ONLY PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE EXTREME NATIONAL- ISITS AND LEFT-WING NEUTRALISTS, WHO WOULD WELCOME A DIVISIVE NATIONAL DEBATE. ON THIS AS ON OTHER SIMILAR DIVISIVE POLICY ISSUES, OUR POSTURE SHOULD BE ONE DESIGNED TO ASSIST THE MANY ELEMENTS WHO ARE CONCERNED OVER NATHIONALIST, ANTI-WESTERN PRESSURES IN NORWAY, TO LINE UP NORWAY ON THE SIDE OF THE WEST IN TIMES OF STRESS. FRYDENLUND AND BRATTELI CLEARLY HOPE THAT SOME FORM OF ASSOCIATE STATUS CAN BE DEvised WHICH WILL ALLOW NORWAY TO DEMONSTRATE MEANINGFUL SOLID- ARITY WITH THE IEP COUNTRIES IN THE EVENT OF ANOTHER OIL CRISIS. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD HELP THEM ON THESE LARGER POLITICAL GROUNDS. AND SINCE NORWAY WILL BE A NET OIL EXPORTER IN THE YEARS AHEAD, ASSOCIATION WITH IEP COULD BE OF CONCRETE HELP TO US IN ANOTHER CRISIS SITUATION BY MAKING IT EASIER FOR HER TO ASSIST THE WEST IN THE FACE OF DOMESTIC COUNTER-PRESSURES.

7. FRYDENLUND'S MEETING WITH DAVIGNON AROUND OCTOBER 28
WILL PRESUMABLY BE DECISIVE IN DETERMINING THE FORM
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WHICH ANY ASSOCIATE IEP STATUS MAY TAKE. WHILE BRATTELI
IS DETERMINED NOT TO ANNOUNCE THE FINAL DECISION BEFORE
OCTOBER 29, IN RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S REQUEST, WE
CANNOT EXPECT THE DECISION TO BE PUT OFF MUCH LONGER.
FRYDENLUND IS SCHEDULED TO DELIVER A MAJOR FOREIGN
POLICY ADDRESS TO THE STORTING ON NOVEMBER 1. IN ADDI-
TION TO ENUNCIATING NORWAY'S POLICY ON THE ARCTIC, HE CAN
BE EXPECTED TO ANNOUNCE THEN THE FINAL DECISION ON IEP
MEMBERSHIP. WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY, THEREFORE, IN THE
NEXT WEEK TO HELP SHAPE THE FINAL NORWEGIAN DECISION ON
THIS QUESTION.

8. I HAVE ARRANGED TO MEET WITH FRYDENLUND AFTER MY
RETURN FROM THE CHIEFS OF MISSION CONFERENCE IN
COPENHAGEN AND BEFORE HE DEPARTS FOR PORTUGAL. SHOULD
THE SECRETARY BE ABLE TO MEET BRIEFLY WITH US IN
COPENHAGEN, I COULD RELAY A MESSAGE FROM HIM TO
FRYDENLUND. IN ADDITION, OR ALTERNATIVELY, WE
COULD MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN TO DAVIGNON SO THAT HE
WILL TRY TO SHAPE NORWEGIAN ASSOCIATION ALONG LINES
OF OUR CHOOSING.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: I WOULD APPRECIATE EARLY
GUIDANCE ON (1) U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD ASSOCIATE
PARTICIPATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION;
(2) ANY STEPS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN TO INFLUENCE THE
FORM OF ASSOCIATION WHICH NORWAY WILL REQUEST OF THE
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